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HAROLD E. FEY

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WORLD PEACE *and* CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

BY HAROLD E. FEY

FORMER MISSIONARY IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

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CONTENTS

PROLOGUE: HIGHWAYS, SEAWAYS, WINGWAYS 5

I: THE FIRST WORLD COMMUNITY 8

II: CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM: RIVAL RELIGIONS 17

III: ARE MISSIONS CULTURAL IMPERIALISM? 27

IV: DIGGING THE CHANNELS OF UNDERSTANDING 38

V: CHAOS OR CHRIST: HUMANITY'S ALTERNATIVE 48

APPENDIX 61

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HIGHWAYS, SEAWAYS, WINGWAYS

A Prologue

THE highways of the world community, the sea lanes and the "wingways of the air," are now being laid out. Across the great Pacific, over the South Seas, skirting the Indian Ocean, traversing the Arctic wastes, the mighty liners of water and sky are opening the way for the interflow of goods, people, and ideas. Along these arteries go missionaries, pioneers of the Great Society. Beside these channels, nationalism, the most implacable enemy of the new social order, has erected its defenses for a last stand.

To understand the meaning of this contrast, journey across the Pacific from America to the Philippines. As you leave San Francisco you sail into the setting sun through the magnificent portals of the Golden Gate. Distance soon blends the noises of the harbor commerce into a peaceful recessional and you are grateful that your last impression of the homeland is to be compounded of the music of toil and the beauty of the templed hills. But you are disillusioned. The sinister crash of the sunset gun of the Presidio is the farewell you hear from America.

Your first port of call is Honolulu, immensely wealthy because of its position at the crossroads of the greatest ocean. Many of its first families are descendants of missionaries. Christian teaching and peaceful commerce has made this city the paradise of the Pacific, so it has an unusual stake in the continuance of good will. Yet over Honolulu and its beautiful harbor hangs the gray menace of Diamond Head. Almost the first thing you hear about this extinct crater is that it is heavily fortified. "Sixteen-inch

guns are concealed there." All around the base one sees barracks, dugouts, trenches. Soldiers swarm over it. Filipino labor battalions build and hurry.

Closer to the city, not far from a Christian school, there is an army camp. Over it roar aircraft by day and night. To and fro on the streets leading to the camp official motorcycles, trucks, and cars shuttle all day long. The night sky is streaked by restless searchlight beams, questing, probing. Not far away, in Pearl Harbor, another base is being created for submarines, cruisers, and seaplanes.

In Japan it is the same. Mortally wounded Yokohama hastened first to hide the scars which the 1923 earthquake left on the forts at her harbor mouth. In the Inland Sea, one of the most beautiful stretches of water anywhere on earth, the amateur photographer who is desperately trying to capture the mountainous beauty of the narrow seaway is stopped and warned that his inoffensive camera will involve him in a heavy fine and imprisonment if he persists in jeopardizing Japanese military and naval secrets. In Nagasaki, one of the first Japanese ports Christians were allowed to enter, he is again told, "No pictures here."

In Shanghai, you find forts of steel floating in the river. There they lie at whatever time of year you come, a dozen or twenty warships carrying the flags of several "Christian" nations. Behind them appear the extensive buildings of missionary colleges. Since 1931, when even these colleges were devoted to military uses, the ships' brass has been kept very bright and their guns clean. Shanghai, the New York of Asia, has become another breeding spot for world war.

The overhanging cliffs of Hongkong's mountain are topped with barracks, and the winding lanes of her matchless harbor are liberally sprinkled with British men-of-war. Lean-flanked cruisers and low-set destroyers lazily swing on their anchor-chains in the tide, while under the noses of their

cannon hundreds of obsequious junks move to and fro. When Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, did his work near here a hundred years ago, Hongkong was a worthless island which the Chinese government gave to England. Now she would like to have it back and perhaps she will get it. The dapper officers on these ships of war remember how helpless were guns and armaments a few short years ago when the squeak and yaw of lateen sails was gone from Hongkong harbor. "If that boycott had lasted a little longer we could have bought this island back again—very cheap," said an old Chinese. As he talked he looked, not fearfully, but tolerantly and with humor, at the newest "Christian" cruiser.

In Manila you go with your young missionary friend to a student meeting on the broad parkway of the Luneta at the harbor's edge. The missionary stands with his back to the sea and talks sincerely, but without effect, about "peace on earth, good will among men." The Filipino students sit looking over the American missionary's head out upon the harbor, where the American Asiatic fleet rides, and on beyond to where fortified Corregidor rises like a mailed fist between the city and the sea. What are they thinking? Do they see that this American missionary and these American battleships each represent one of the two forces which are struggling against each other all over the world? Do they realize that upon the outcome of this struggle between civilization and militarization depends the destiny of mankind?

We Christians send both the missionary and the battleship. Through a devoted life one preaches that love is the law of life. Through the iron throats of guns the other thunders that force is the way to power. Which shall the world believe?

I

THE FIRST WORLD COMMUNITY

WITHIN the memories of people still young, the radio has annihilated time and the airplane has made giant strides toward the conquest of space. Already our affairs have become so inextricably interwoven with those of our fellows far away that constant international conferences and daily telephone and radio conversations between governments have given us the beginnings of one worldwide system of political relationships. More and more the same cosmic culture encloses men within its universal matrix of ideas, values and social patterns. The whole earth has now become one school in which all people sit at the feet of the same teachers. It is one great dining room in which all races eat from the same table. It is a bank where all our savings are pooled in one commonwealth. It is a whispering gallery where every great voice is heard.

All over the world men are coming to wear the same clothes, play the same games, share the same body of knowledge and pursue the same methods of producing and distributing wealth. Writes Ramsey Muir of England:

> The very livelihood of each member of this interdependent world now depends upon contributions from all the other members; and both the management and ownership of productive enterprise are increasingly assuming a world scale. Here certainly is a revolution more momentous than any humanity has ever experienced in its history. Here is the opening of an exciting new era in human history.[1]

In spite of economic nationalism, every market has be-

[1] From Ramsey Muir, *The Interdependent World and Its Problems*, p. 26. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1933.

come a world market. In defiance of the prostitution of education through "patriotic" propaganda, classrooms must increasingly draw upon the culture of the whole world. In contempt of boundary lines, laboratories acknowledge only one universe of science, hospitals use the same cures for the same diseases, governments find themselves confronted with the issues that their neighbors face and the institutions of religion meet identical problems in all lands.

The new world is being born in agony. Its "dawn comes up like thunder" because most people think of this moment of dim light in history as the dying of the old day instead of the beginning of the new. But the walls which were the symbols of yesterday are all down. Only their shadow remains in decaying political and social institutions, which are being discarded as rapidly as mankind can free itself from the chaos and anarchy of the old order. That is happening more swiftly than we think. For the first time in history considerable numbers of men have discovered the cooperative techniques of brotherhood in action, have organized themselves in terms of a functional social order, have begun to think in world terms.

The great enemy of the new world is war. Of the four horsemen of the Apocalypse, only war has so far escaped all effective control. Poverty and famine are everywhere slowly yielding before the productive possibilities of the machine, which has, according to Maynard Keynes, lifted the economic status in Western countries so that the average man lives at a level from four to eight times as high as his forbears of a century ago. In another century, this great economist believes, poverty will be conquered if cataclysmic war does not intervene. Ignorance and superstition are widely giving way before systems of universal education that draw upon the learning of all the world. Epidemic disease is largely under control and endemic disease is being

beaten back as great governments and powerful philanthropic foundations put their strength behind men of science.

But wars are growing more disastrous and widespread. The very organization of the world as a community puts the whole world in peril every time armed conflict breaks out anywhere. Fascism, which is simply militarism systematizing its peace-time preparations for war, is inescapable for all nations if they persist in regarding war either as inevitable or as a legitimate method of attaining national ends. And Fascist regimentation is the mark of a dying world. Its wars are progressively more ruinous.

There was a time when considerable numbers of participants in war could profit from it in one way or another. That time is gone. Only munition makers and a few men at the top of the economic pyramid stand to gain from modern war, and even their profits tremble in growing peril of revolution and social chaos. The great conscripted armies which fight the wars of the twentieth century must face the fact that regardless of whether they win or lose, they only add to the suffering of their own people by impoverishing or crippling an enemy. When bombing planes attack a city, they gas their own people's customers and produce unemployment at home. When navies disrupt world trade, they bring hunger, disorder, death and destruction to the very people who stupidly pay for their fatal "protection."

We live, then, in a world society, within sight of marvelous fulfillment, but in daily peril of immediate destruction by that ungovernable flood of disaster, modern war. Our one hope is that enough men shall be awakened in time to the revolutionary personal and social consequences of living in a world community to put a stop to war. That awakening can come only through a religion that emphasizes the spiritual meaning to our day of brotherhood and interdependence,

and that rests upon the simple essentials taught by Jesus. Education, persuasion through democratic political processes, the peaceful organization of pressures through social groupings, progressive economic integration through widespread use of modern cooperative techniques, growing use of improved technological instruments of abundant living—all of these are channels along which men can move toward the world society. But religion alone can make them socially constructive because only faith in God can make the suffering that is inevitable to the process a force for good instead of evil, can make the acquisition of power a blessing instead of a curse.

A world reduced to a state of anarchy by the competing loyalties of nationalism must rediscover religion's ultimate internationalism, its patriotism of humanity, its cosmic citizenship. A society whose very existence is endangered by the persistence of the tribal habits of group violence must achieve the religious insight that love is the law of life, indispensable to survival in our kind of world. A race sick with fear and failure, frustrated at every turn by its own inner weakness and wrongness, on the verge of suicide at the very moment when the goal of centuries of social evolution is in sight, must have religion's understanding of forgiveness and faith illuminated for it. Sinning men, unable to escape from evil social habits like war even when they see that their sin brings death and suffering to millions, must be led to choose the way of the cross as the only sure road to redemption.

Basic to all these imperatives is the conviction that the whole power of God is working against a society which has so hopelessly tangled human relations by the exercise of competition and force. Coupled with this must go the positive faith that today God the Creator still sits at the loom of destiny, irresistibly weaving the intermingled threads of

our human lives into the living and beautiful fabric of a unified world community—the Kingdom of God. Is any other reason needed why a follower of Christ should solemnly dedicate his life and all he has to world peace, to Christian missions, to social justice?

From the Christian standpoint everything is at stake in the establishment of peace. Since the days of Jesus the church has talked about brotherhood. In recent years its noblest spirits have welcomed every advance of technology which cuts down physical barriers between men. Seeing these gains people of insight have proclaimed that in Christ all the spiritual obstacles to a world society must also disappear. The growth of war in the world, and especially the proficiency of so-called "Christian" nations in mass destruction, is now everywhere admitted to be a direct challenge to Christianity. Unless Christianity can end war, war will end Christianity. There is not room in the new world community for two forces so violently opposed as Christianity, with its doctrine of love for all men, and war, which cannot continue unless it induces millions of Christians to deny love and practise hatred.

This contradiction has come home to the church most pointedly through its missionaries. It has sent these pioneers of the world community out to proclaim a new life to the peoples of the world. They have gone not only to primitive people like the natives of Australia and the Congo, but also to the ancient cultures of India and China. In India they have been confronted with the remarkable life and the non-violent methods of Gandhi, a Hindu, who probably leads more people by the sheer power of character than any man has ever done during his own lifetime. In China they have had to answer the rapier-like logic of Dr. Hu Shih, a graduate of Cornell University who received the highest honors ever given by that institution to a student

in philosophy and who is now the agnostic leader of millions of Chinese youth.

"We cannot accept your judgment that Christianity will save the world," they say in effect to the missionaries. "Christianity has been given an opportunity to show what it can do in Western nations. It has permitted the development of an economic system which exploits the great masses of its own people. It has been powerless either to eliminate greed from this profit system or to prevent that greed from resulting in war. To live, this system must keep expanding, but when it sets out to expand by seizing raw materials, or securing monopolies on markets or on profitable places for investment of capital, then conflict and war result. We therefore will stand aside until your boastful civilization commits suicide in the new world war which is in preparation. Then we shall be free to work out our own salvation in our own way."

That this is not an exaggerated phrasing of the kind of reasoning which the constant association of trade and war has produced in non-Christian minds is shown by an incident which occurred during the signing of one of the early treaties between China and Western powers. During the first half of the last century Britain was engaged in the task of compelling proud, stubborn, isolationist China to open her ports to trade. One of the commodities which British traders found especially profitable to sell was opium. The self-sufficient government of China did not want any Western products, and it particularly did not want opium. Chinese police held "Boston tea parties" of their own, dumping millions of dollars worth of illegal British opium into the harbors of port cities. Over this dispute two "opium wars" were fought. In 1858, after China had been brought to her knees a second time, a treaty was being drawn up. W. A. P. Martin, an American missionary, was serving as

interpreter. During a lull in the proceedings he handed to one of the Chinese emissaries, with suitable explanations, an almanac containing a copy of the Ten Commandments.

Another missionary who was present wrote, "The Chinese official began to look it over and, coming to the tenth commandment (Thou shalt not covet), expressed his admiration at such an injunction and then wondered why the English did not observe this requirement instead of coveting the lands and towns of China. The next day the same officer had the same book spread out before him, evidently prepared with some point. He begged us to circulate many such tracts among the English to lead them to act more in conformity with these doctrines. At a suitable moment he again referred to the little volume, quoting the sixth commandment (Thou shalt not kill) against the English, alleging that they could not be Christians, for they killed the Chinese with opium merely for gain."

Forcible reminders of repeated failures in this vital area have created a new, and overdue, humility among Christians. We must now preface our mission by confessing that we ourselves have not achieved that which we urge others to attempt. Our great commission is the kingdom of God. The whole world, including ourselves, will soon destroy itself unless it discovers the way to this peaceful world society through the example of people and communities. If now we proclaim it, like St. Paul, "not as one who has already attained" but humbly confessing that we too have sinned and come short of the glory of God, it may be that people who have been unconvinced by arrogance and pride may pause to listen to humility and penitence. Moreover, when we preach the gospel of love in these days we are driven by the fate which hangs over the world to put into our words the terrible urgency that only the life or death alternative can give.

The danger is increased by having to face a doubt we cannot in candor evade. Is Christianity adequate? Our new knowledge of the teachings of Laotze, of Confucius, of Buddha and Mohammed has revealed to us hitherto unglimpsed insights into the worth of other faiths. Our new sense of failure because all our old faith has been unable to prevent war or conquer greed makes us more willing to use elements of eternal worth wherever we find them. Our deepest intuition tells us surely that all the technologies, all the scientific advances, all the social disciplines which education or government can set up, will fail once more unless our generation can hew out a highway for God through this wonderful and terrifying modern world. Must it be a new way, or is it the old way we have glimpsed in the life and thought of Jesus but which we have never dared to try?

Of all the faiths which plead for the allegiance of mankind, the evidence is clear that Jesus' brotherhood of love alone is broad enough to be the integrating factor in a world society. A world which is being economically interknit cannot discover the spiritual basis for such an inclusive community unless it can find it in one God. Who can it be if it is not God, the Father of all men? A planet which includes peoples of different backgrounds and abilities needs the faith that that God is the Universal Love whom Jesus Christ revealed. A society which finds that the exercise of violence and hatred endangers its very existence, needs the good news of love as the law of life in the modern world. A world reduced to a state of anarchy by the competing loyalties of outworn nationalisms needs the idea of the universal kingdom of God so that it can move on to the ultimate loyalty—a patriotism that makes all humanity and not the nation alone the object of loyalty. A race spiritually decadent, tragically frustrated by its own inner failure until it stands on the verge of suicide at the very

moment when the abundant life for all men is within its grasp, needs to know of forgiveness unto seventy times seven and of new life through faith. Selfish mankind, unable to escape through its sin and bringing death to millions through its evil, must be brought to try the way of the cross and to know the redemption which conquers even death. All of this the religion of Jesus brings.

Neither the great ethnic faiths nor the pseudo-religions of communism, Fascism and nationalism meet the need of the world community for a faith which will convert a world neighborhood into a world brotherhood. What is needed is a new kind of person—a person capable of world citizenship, and a new basis for community life. This reorientation of personality and society certainly cannot be achieved through the political instrumentality of the totalitarian state. World citizenship is not being created by Naziism, or Nipponism, or Americanism. It is not emerging from Hinduism or Buddhism, nor do we see it in the genteel secularism of Confucianism. Neither does it emerge from the nominal Christianity which the world knows. But in figures like Albert Schweitzer, Toyohiko Kagawa, Romain Rolland, T. Z. Koo, C. F. Andrews, George Lansbury, Muriel Lester, Stanley Jones and many others who might be named, we begin to glimpse a universal citizenship which says, "My country is the world; my countrymen, all mankind."

II

CHRISTIANITY AND NATIONALISM: RIVAL RELIGIONS

According to a recent count, there are seventy-five nations on the earth. Citizens of each of these countries consider that their particular nation, whether it is China with 438,000,000 people or Monaco with 24,000, is alone worthy of their highest loyalty. They admit no higher authority and consult no law but their own nation's desires. This attitude might be called anarchy. Anarchy at least is what it produces in the world community. Instead it is called nationalism. No realistic study of the relation between Christian missions and world peace can leave nationalism out of account.

"Nationalism is the outstanding force in present-day world politics," we are told by many writers. It makes the nation the center of a people's life. It usually works to confine trade within the nation by assessing upon trade with foreigners penalties called tariffs. Whether its own cultural heritage be rich or poor, nationalism plays up the art and literature of "our own" people and neglects or depreciates that of others. It magnifies out of all true perspective the heroic events of its own history and minimizes the greatness of other countries. Nationalism everywhere crowns with sainthood the men who have had a share in the founding and perpetuation of the nation, and makes shrines out of their tombs where the faithful may conduct a sort of patriotic ancestor worship. It reveres the writings of these saints and adores the constitutions and other documents which have played a part in the national history al-

most as though they were sacred scriptures. It encourages people to make pilgrimages to battlefields. It builds a hundred monuments to military leaders to one for the vastly more numerous and useful patriots of peace. This is true in nearly all countries. Bishop Francis J. McConnell describes it accurately:

> Nationalism today is virtually a religious activity. . . . Let one show lack of reverence toward the flag of whatever country one may dwell in and see what will happen. . . . Any church would stand amazed to see its symbols treated with such regard as is shown the flags of the nations by the citizens of those nations. Any church would think it had brought in a new heaven and a new earth if it should see willingness to sacrifice for the heavenly kingdom like that which nationalism demands. The nationalists expect an obedience to the nation beyond anything ever claimed by Christianity from Christians. . . . The church is supposed to recruit armies in time of war, prepare for war in time of peace, and bless nationalism at any and all times. . . . The whole nationalistic cult development runs squarely counter to the development of essential Christianity.[1]

Its champions point out that nationalism is not all evil. In China today it is obviously the mightiest cohesive influence at work among that loosely knit people. That is why it gets support from many missionaries. It is breaking down the walls of complacent neighborhoods. It is undermining the provincialism of self-contained and self-satisfied regions. No other political force which the world has seen up to the present can hold together in one unit the inhabitants of 8,241,921 square miles, as nationalism does today in Russia. When we think of the hundreds of petty warring principalities of feudal Europe, or when we see the disunity of a nation like India, we are forced to admit that whatever substitute we find for nationalism, it must be able

[1] From Francis J. McConnell, *Human Needs and World Christianity*, pp. 131, 132, 133-134. New York, Friendship Press, 1929.

to insure the degree of unity which this mighty social cement has made possible.

Having said this, we shall have to admit that all the good gifts of nationalism are not enough to tip the balances in its favor. Its obvious benefits are purchased at too great a price. Nationalism is the chief cause of war in the modern world. "The reasons for war are well-nigh innumerable," said the distinguished journalist, Frank H. Simonds, in 1934, "and most of them reside in our 'accepted ideology' which is nationalism." It is generally agreed that nationalism constituted the principal cause of the World War and that it is still operating as a driving force in the direction of another general conflict. In recent years nationalism, fanned into flame by Woodrow Wilson's great word "self-determination," has become a major obstacle to Christian missions in the Near and Far East.

Nationalism brings war because it offsets each of its virtues with a greater vice. It binds the citizens of a country together, but it sets them in antagonism against the peoples of other nations. It fosters self-esteem in a country, but at the expense of depreciation of others. It develops love of one's fatherland, but it fans suspicions of other fatherlands. It would destroy itself if it emphasized love, so it preaches fear. But it then is helpless to prevent fear from growing into hatred and hatred into war. Even the incredible sacrifices it calls on people to make have in themselves the curse of selfishness, so that they bring woe and not weal. Men literally give their bodies to be burned in the flames of war, but because nationalism's love is too narrow, it profits them nothing.

While most of the people to whom missionaries carry the gospel of love today uncritically accept nationalism as the mark of a self-respecting nation, not all the leaders of non-Christian lands are as blind. Rabindranath Tagore, the great

Indian mystic, described Western nationalism as "the elixir of moral death." In one of the most devastating attacks on this worldwide disease ever penned, he said that

> where the spirit of the Western nationalism prevails, the whole people is being taught from boyhood to foster hatreds and ambitions by all kinds of means—by the manufacture of half-truths and untruths in history, by persistent misrepresentation of other races and the culture of unfavorable sentiments towards them, by setting up memorials of events, very often false, which for the sake of humanity should be speedily forgotten, thus continually brewing evil menace towards neighbors and nations other than their own. This is poisoning the very fountainhead of humanity. . . . It is holding up gigantic selfishness as the one universal religion for all nations of the world. We can take anything else from the hands of science, but not this elixir of moral death. . . . To imbue the minds of a whole people with an abnormal vanity of its own superiority, to teach it to take pride in its moral callousness and ill-begotten wealth, to perpetuate humiliation of defeated nations by exhibiting trophies won from war, and using these in schools in order to breed in children's minds a contempt for others, is imitating the West where she has a festering sore, whose swelling is a swelling of disease eating into its vitality.[1]

We can gain some perspective on our own nationalism if we study its relationship to Christian missions and to the task of building the spiritual base of the world community.

Nationalism does its most serious damage to the missionary enterprise by setting up in Christian countries a counter-loyalty to Christianity, thus vitiating the Christian message at its sources and undermining the enthusiasm of its champions. It supplies another illustration of the impossibility of serving both God and mammon. The emotional outlet provided by the loyalties of nationalism diverts the legitimate emotional expressions of religion from the historic channels of Christian fellowship. In a similar way the often

[1] From Rabindranath Tagore, *Nationalism*, pp. 98-99. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

highly remunerative and always spectacular and colorful practice of nationalism makes the ministries of unselfish Christian service seem impractical, Utopian, and idealistic. "Nationalism is the most serious organized form of rivalry to Christianity," says Bishop McConnell. "It is at once the strongest and subtlest enemy of Christianity today."[1]

In the second place, nationalism makes it necessary that mission work shall constantly go forward under a cloud of suspicion and distrust. "Nationalism is both unifying and divisive," says Kirby Page. "It binds together the citizens of one country with the bonds of patriotic devotion and then separates them from other peoples by walls of suspicions, fears and animosities. Through the classroom, the lecture platform, the pulpit, the press and a hundred other devices, distorted images are created in the minds of children and adults alike. The cult of superiority is fostered by exaggerating the virtues and minimizing the vices of one's own country, while underestimating the good qualities and overstating the evil practices of other peoples."[2] This attitude, frequently held to some degree by both the benefactors and the beneficiaries of missions, missionaries must accept as a handicap from the very beginning.

Most young men and women who go out as missionaries today are convinced internationalists. They are often possessed with a desire to do the thing which most effectively makes for peace and good will among the nations, and they have selected the missionary enterprise as the agency most likely to enable them to serve that ideal. When, however, they seek to preach and practise the ways of peace and brotherhood, they are persistently misunderstood. "Your great imperialistic nations have got all they want. Now

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

[2] From Kirby Page, *National Defense*, pp. 4-5. New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1931.

they send you to preach gentleness and patience, so that we may not want to do as you have done," missionaries are told, and they realize that one of their primary responsibilities is to demonstrate that beyond all question their first loyalty is not to the nation in which they happened to be born, but to the kingdom of God which includes people of all nations. If they go further, as many do from genuine conviction, and champion the pacifist position as an integral and necessary part of Jesus' way, they are met with the jeer, "Yes, yours is the pacifism of the gorged lion. No pacifism for us until we reach our national aims." A young Filipino preacher once said to the writer of these lines, "It is all right for you Americans to be pacifists. But we Filipinos will wait until we achieve our independence from you American pacifists before we dare listen to you."

But bad as is the predicament of the missionary internationalist, it does not compare with the bewilderment of those workers who have sufficient social intelligence to see the evils of exaggerated nationalism in the domestic affairs of the countries they seek to serve, and sufficient courage to try to do something about them. Graft, corruption, and exploitation of every sort, covered up by demagogic appeals to nationalism, frequently flourish unchecked in such countries as India, China, or the Philippines and every attempt at reform is defeated when the red herring of nationalism is dragged across the trail. This device is particularly effective when a foreigner is instrumental in pointing out the evil. He at once becomes the target of attack, and is fortunate if he escapes with a whole skin. For instance, when an American woman missionary physician working in an Asiatic city charged a member of the city council with the abduction of a young girl and attacked the council for its complacent attitude toward commercialized vice, the ac-

cused met the charge by raising a roar of protest, asking how long the good people were going to permit these foreigners to meddle in their affairs, and ended by attempting to boycott the physician's hospital. The boycott was unsuccessful, but it served as an effective smoke screen.

Finally, when Western nationalism reaps its periodical harvests of war, most Christians feel justified in suspending their allegiance to the way of love until "victory" is won. These suspensions do an amount of harm to the worldwide Christian cause which cannot be repaired in years. These more or less complete lapses in our practice of brotherhood directly affect the missionary enterprise in the recall of missionaries, the depletion of mission funds, the antagonism of non-Christian peoples, and the scattering of the Christian community. They sap missionary zeal at home and the missionary's morale on the field. The slow labor of years has again and again been swept away in these upheavals. The World War was a veritable cataclysm in this respect. Not only German missionaries in Africa and China, but also English and American missionaries all over the world, were withdrawn or set to work at other tasks. Budgets were overturned, native workers dismissed, the training of leadership suspended, the hard-won confidence of the people destroyed—and after disastrous war came ruinous depression.

But worse than these temporary reversals is the betrayal, inevitable in war, of the Christian message in the house of its friends. Christian leaders who have preached love now preach hatred in the name of love! What effect is this likely to have in an undeveloped Christian community? Imagine the confusion in the minds of friendly non-Christians when those who once preached peace now preach war in the name of peace. "I desire to explain to you," wrote a prominent minister in 1918, "the ground of my

faith that Jesus Christ calls his followers to the colors and that their response to the call constitutes a triumph for Christianity such as the world has never before known. The armies of the Allies are in the strictest sense of that term 'officers of the peace.' They might well bear upon their banners the inscription, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God'!"

When whole nations of Christian people thus preach that evil is good, that black is white, is it surprising that our attempts to convert the warlike "heathen" from the error of their ways lack convincing power? And what must they think when on the outbreak of war they hear for the first time from the lips of Christian teachers the doctrine that "the entire New Testament chapter on the duties of love, which is the chief doctrine of the moral law, has no application to the conduct of the state"? Is it any wonder that the non-Christian world, which has by this time received millions of copies of the Gospels, finds difficulty in squaring our wartime utterances with the Sermon on the Mount?

What are the cures for this far-flung nationalism, which has spread from the West to the East and now exercises so great and baleful an influence in international relations?

Obviously there is no panacea. The remedies must be as many as the diversified causes. An education which is not the tool of the nationalistic state but the true mirror of the work and dreams of the common people of all countries must open our minds to the simple truth that there are no foreigners, that all men are like ourselves, and that the practice of the Golden Rule is the one sure road to peace in international as well as in personal relations. An economic system which artificially stimulates nationalism in order to permit a privileged group to manipulate tariffs and foreign trade to their own advantage must be displaced by a system that deliberately curbs such anarchic behavior

and recognizes that industrial civilization cannot survive unless it says, with John Wesley, "The world is my parish." A political system based on the unholy Machiavellian doctrine of absolute national sovereignty must be superseded by an international order in which the final sovereignty rests in the world community; and some kind of instrument, either the League of Nations or something better, must win consent to exercise the functions of peaceful world government.

In spite of all the reasons why swift action along these lines is imperative if humanity is not to drift more deeply into demoralization and chaos, these things are not going to happen overnight. They wait upon a profound reaffirmation of the reality of universal brotherhood under God.

The chief form in which that most important of all affirmations is being made is the modern missionary movement. Forget for one moment everything the missionary is saying. See what he is doing. He is voluntarily leaving the land of his birth and making his home with other people, thus overleaping a barrier which most people consider insurmountable. He is actually living above nationalism. He leaves a country where the standard of living is comparatively high to live with people of a lower economic level, thus proving that the high walls of economic determinism need not circumscribe all our attitudes and actions. He is deliberately turning his back on his own race and identifying himself with another race, thus demonstrating that this spurious racialism which creates prejudice and suffering in many parts of the world is a figment of men's minds and nothing more. Through love alone he is freely and gladly giving his life in a service which has no parallel in the history of the world for sustained, sacrificial and self-effacing devotion to the principle that brotherhood is the inescapable law of social survival.

The importance of this demonstration lies in the fact that it does not depend on the isolated actions of some lonely saint. It has enlisted tens of thousands of missionaries and millions of supporters. Its magnificent record has been made without thought of profit, prestige, or national gain. Says Kenneth Scott Latourette in his recent book:

> The very magnitude of the missionary enterprise is impressive. At its height, in the decade before the financial depression of 1929, it numbered roughly thirty thousand Protestant missionaries supported by contributions of not far from sixty million dollars a year, and about the same number of Roman Catholic missionaries supported by contributions of perhaps thirty million dollars a year. These missionaries have scattered themselves on every continent and on almost every group of islands, from Arctic wastes and ice to blazing deserts and the steaming heat of the tropics. The money which supports them has come primarily not from men of wealth, although these have contributed, but from millions of givers, most of them of limited means. Never has the world seen anything quite to equal it. Not only has the record never been approached by any religion, and not even in any previous century of Christianity itself, but never before in the history of the race has any group of ideas, religious, social, economic, or political, been propagated over so wide an area or among so many people by so many who have given their lives to the task. Never, moreover, has any movement of any kind, political, religious, or otherwise, been supported by the voluntary gifts of so many individuals scattered in so many different lands.[1]

The hope of the world for salvation from the suicidal strife of nationalism lies in an even wider extension of this "propaganda of the deed." Missionaries are the first citizens of the world community. Because they love God, their primary loyalty is to him and to his human family.

[1] From *Missions Tomorrow*, pp. 12-13. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1936.

III

ARE MISSIONS CULTURAL IMPERIALISM?

Like Christian missions, modern industry is international. It requires raw materials, markets, and places in which to invest surplus capital. An important share of each must be secured outside one's own country. The idea that a nation is justified in attempting to secure these essentials by force and to keep other nations from sharing the advantages it gains in this way is called imperialism. All of the so-called great nations of the world, including our own, have waged imperialistic wars and many of them are today profiting as a result of success in these wars.

In spite of the international chaos which still threatens as a result of imperialistic rivalries, it is well to reflect that great good as well as great evil may arise out of the fact that no nation can be economically self-sufficient. If the Christian ideal of brotherhood can be made sufficiently real to men who profess to be guided by its precepts, nations will be compelled by their lack of self-sufficiency to develop a worldwide network of cooperation instead of increasingly complex systems of force. Even the most richly endowed nation cannot long keep the wheels of its factories spinning if it depends solely upon its own unsupplemented resources, or if it chooses to sell only to its own people.

The Royal Institute of International Affairs, an authoritative British association whose studies carry great weight with men of learning everywhere, in the summer of 1936 completed a worldwide survey of the places where the essential raw materials of modern industry may be found.

"No country is entirely self-sufficient with respect to the essential raw materials in the world," it discovered. "All are necessarily dependent on foreign sources of supply for many important raw materials. . . . In fact the problem of access to raw materials could never be solved by transfer of territory unless whole continents were transferred. The only real possibility of improvement lies in a greater freedom of trade."[1]

The Institute then pointed out that the real essentials of modern industry are coal, iron, copper, petroleum, cotton, and rubber. Even a country with as varied natural resources as the United States is deficient in rubber. All our millions of automobiles and trucks would jolt to a grinding stop at once if it were not for the labor of thousands of natives on the plantations of the Malay States or the Congo. In addition, the report said that "the United States is seriously deficient in manganese, chromium, tin, antimony, tungsten, nickel, vanadium, platinum, asbestos, graphite, silk, sisal, flax, jute, and hemp, and has inadequate supplies of bauxite, magnesite, mercury, potash and wool." Long as this list is, all the other nations except Russia have still longer lists of materials which they must secure outside their own borders.

One of the greatest causes of war in the modern world has been the attempt of nations to secure exclusive control of the sources of raw materials or of markets for their products by military force. The World War was fought between two sets of nations each of which had certain colonial objectives. When the war was over Germany was stripped of her dependencies and they were divided up among the winners. Two of the winners, Japan and Italy, did not receive all they considered they were entitled to expect, so in recent years one has seized Manchuria, the other Ethi-

[1] New York *Times*, August 2, 1936.

opia. Humanity all over the world protested these crimes against brotherhood. They were crimes, it is true, but exactly the same kind of crimes which had placed India under the control of Great Britain, Indo-China under the flag of France, the Philippines under the domination of the United States, and which had partitioned almost the entire continent of Africa between various European nations.

Modern missionary expansion was also occurring during the years of imperialistic outreach. Furthermore, it had its origins in many of the same countries. If the missionaries did not precede the flag, as they did in China, they followed it, as Protestant missionaries did in the Philippines. English missionaries predominate in India, American missionaries in the Philippines, and Dutch missionaries are most numerous in the Netherlands Indies. Natives of these countries are therefore inclined to regard missionary activity as a kind of cultural imperialism.

They believe that missionary activity is simply another stage in their conquest, so that a nation which has conquered politically now sends these new agents who complete the subjugation of a people by causing them to abandon their old thoughts and ways and to take on the ideas and the behavior patterns of the conquerors. After this has gone on long enough, the subject peoples insist that even the legitimate desire for freedom and the maintenance of their own life will be gone and the nation will have been conquered in spirit as well as in body. Not desiring to see this happen, many Christians oppose missionary activity.

While this charge is not true in its entirety, it contains enough truth to make it extremely difficult to answer. It is true, for example, that in the conquest of America the sword and the cross in the hands of Spaniards played equally important rôles. It is still true that missionaries from some Roman Catholic countries, notably Belgium and Italy, go

into Africa with considerable government support. Only those missionaries whose ideas are in entire accord with the government's aims are sent. It is also true that missionaries are subjected to increasingly rigorous surveillance on the part of colonial governments. In India and elsewhere the government requires that missionaries shall agree to support the policies of the ruling power and to refrain from any political activity that may be construed as hostile to the régime. Neither can it be denied that most governments insist that missionaries heed the counsel of the officials of their own countries even while abroad, so that in a time of crisis when they are ordered to flee to gunboats or to assemble in certain places for armed protection they will do so. In the event of destruction of property, home governments often insist on the exaction of indemnities.

Fortunately for the world mission of Christianity, increasing numbers of missionaries are following courses of action which refute the charges of those who say that missions are simply the cultural side of modern imperialism. Much more often than their fellows in Christian service at home, and far more frequently than their fellow-countrymen abroad, missionaries are likely to be outspoken in criticism of policies of their own government which do not square with the practice of brotherhood. In one denomination, over sixty per cent of the missionaries are outright pacifists, which is about four times as high as the proportion for the whole denomination. This necessarily makes them internationalists who oppose every kind of imperialistic policy. On numerous occasions in China missionaries have petitioned their own governments to remove their gunboats from the Yangtse River and have even refused to go to the refuge offered by the gunboats in time of uprising and violence. With increasing frequency during the past genera-

tion missionaries and mission boards have refused to accept indemnities for the destruction of property or life.[1]

Furthermore, missionaries are rapidly clarifying their own purposes. Today few go out as the ambassadors of our own civilization. Instead they preach the kingdom of God, which means that they urge those to whom they go to prove all things foreign and to hold fast only to that in Western civilization which is good. Even more important than the World War as a revealer of the terrible ethical shortcomings of our once boasted way of life has been the economic situation in recent years, which has underlined the frightful incapacity of the West to give even the most elemental justice or security to the vast majority of its own common people. If they are to be perfectly honest, missionaries must admit that the depression arose from moral and religious failure. In all humility we have been forced to acknowledge that the roots of war lie in this injustice and insecurity. So increasing numbers have begun to preach in the name of Christ a new society, greater than either Western or Eastern civilization, to be achieved by a world crusade for peace and justice for all men. Kagawa calls it the Christian internationale, others simply the kingdom of God.

In this new crusade, in which missionaries and Christians of the younger churches are joined by very many Christians in every Western nation, missionaries often come into conflict with other citizens of their own country who are abroad for other than missionary reasons and who do not share their views. In Asia, for example, America is also represented by hundreds of business men. These representatives of business have seldom had the long training in the history and customs of the countries to which they go that mission-

[1] See chapter on indemnities in Daniel J. Fleming's *Ethical Issues Confronting World Christians,* pp. 88 ff. New York, International Missionary Council, 1935.

aries receive. Only a small percentage of them have mastered the language of the people. Motivated by the desire to make profits as rapidly as possible so that they can then return home to live in prosperity in their own country, most of these men have little contact with the higher culture of Asiatic people that the missionaries appreciate so keenly.

Instead they develop an attitude which is colloquially known in Asia as "the Shanghai mind." This phrase has come to represent a point of view on the part of Western business men which, unfortunately, is not confined to Shanghai. This attitude is a direct offspring of imperialism and constitutes one of the missionary's gravest problems. It is described by an American journalist as follows:

> The . . . British and . . . Americans in Shanghai live for the most part completely isolated mental lives. There are hundreds of these expatriates who would not think of having any social relations with Chinese, who have lived in Shanghai from five to twenty years without attempting to learn the language, who never set foot within the encircling Chinese cities, with their population of some three million people of the yellow race. Yet in spite of this incredible isolation from and ignorance of the vital currents in Chinese life, the average white resident of the Shanghai concessions considers himself an authority on China and the Chinese and most bitterly resents any opinion favoring Chinese aspirations from, say, mission workers who have spent their lives in acquiring understanding of the real China.[1]

An unpleasant but frequently necessary part of the duty of the missionary internationalist is to oppose some of the policies and activities of his own countrymen who have this point of view. One of the points at which the conflict most often emerges is on the question whether the Oriental peoples ought to be permitted to manage their own governmental and business affairs. The missionary is pretty likely

[1] From Felix Morley, *Our Far Eastern Assignment,* p. 88. New York, Association Press, 1926.

to maintain that the best policy is for Westerners and Western countries to give the Asiatic nations the greatest freedom to express their own genius in self-development. The business man is often sure that Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos or Indians are constitutionally inferior, are incapable of making the decisions necessary to administrative responsibility, are innately dishonest and generally untrustworthy. Out of this sharp difference of opinion the business man is pretty likely to emerge with a conviction that the missionary is an impractical idealist whose opinions are producing dangerous complications for "realistic" men of affairs.

Another conflict occurs when the missionary attempts to protect the people from labor practices which exploit them, and which are producing for Western business profits often far in excess of what might be expected at home. A considerable part of the legislative and other barriers which Oriental countries have raised against this exploitation have been inspired by missionaries, and sometimes the laws have actually been written by them. Naturally this does not engender enthusiasm for the cause of Christian missions on the part of the business men whose profits are curbed. But it does go far to disprove the charge that missionary activity is simply a part of the process by which the West is exploiting the East for its own benefit.

Another considerable number of his countrymen whom the missionary discovers in the mission lands to which he goes are in the military and naval forces of "Christian" countries. To the American in the Orient it is usually a matter of considerable surprise to discover how much more in evidence the armed forces of his own country are abroad than they are at home. This surprise deepens into genuine concern when he sees that this considerable number of soldiers and sailors bulk large in the impression which Orientals form of his own country and its purposes in the Far

East. Too many times this impression settles into the conviction that the main purpose of America is represented by the business man in quest of profits quick and large; that the military man is there to protect him by force if necessary, and the missionary is there to make force unnecessary by pulling the wool over the eyes of the Orient with talk about brotherly love. The Orient has not forgotten the times when Western nations have used protection of missionaries as a pretext on which to send in troops whose real purpose was to extort commercial and territorial concessions.

Again the missionary does not dispel this idea by denials but through good works which often demonstrate that he does not see eye to eye with these other representatives of his own nation. The missionary's refusal to have force used in his behalf, even when it is available and when its use might appear to be justified, has done more than any other thing to dispel the idea that he is in collusion with imperialism. It is also becoming increasingly obvious even to people who live in port cities that missionaries and military people represent the two forces which are struggling, in the East as well as in the West, for control over the destinies of men. And however cordial the personal relations may be between the representatives of peace and war, of people and of profits, in the long run there can be no compromise between the basic premises on which they order their lives.

This has often been demonstrated in the action of missionaries in China in the troubled times of the last few years. In 1923 a group of twenty-four missionaries addressed the following request to the American minister in China:

The undersigned, American missionaries, are in China as messengers of the gospel of brotherhood and peace. Our task is to lead men and women into a new life in Christ, which promotes brotherhood and takes away all occasion of wars.

We therefore express our earnest desire that no form of military pressure, especially no foreign military force, be exerted to protect us or our property; and that in the event of our capture by lawless persons or our death at their hands, no money be paid for our release, no punitive expeditions be sent out, and no indemnity be exacted. We take this stand believing that the way to establish righteousness and peace is through bringing the spirit of personal good will to bear on all persons under all circumstances, even through suffering wrong without retaliation. This is what we understand the example of Jesus Christ to mean.

The American minister replied, however, that "American citizens in China must be protected in accordance with the treaties, and the government knows no distinction between missionaries and other citizens."

This exchange suddenly attained a poignant significance soon afterward when widespread resurgence of nationalist feeling in China produced turmoil in which a number of foreigners, including several missionaries, lost their lives. Five missionary boards, representing Congregationalists, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Friends, and the Church of the Brethren, asked the United States government "to make it possible for the missionaries . . . who desire to live outside the concessions and other protected areas to be given only such diplomatic protection as may be provided without the use, threat or other show of military force, and by such methods only as will promote good will in personal and official relations."

The Foreign Missions Conference of North America, an association of many mission boards, pointed out at its next meeting that the use or threat of foreign military force for the protection of missionaries is in general a serious hindrance to missionary work and asked that missionaries who desired to dispense with such "protection" should be granted that privilege. Finally the great Jerusalem meeting of the

International Missionary Council in 1928 expressed the conviction "that the protection of missionaries should be only by such methods as will promote good will in personal and official relations, and urged upon all missionary societies that they should make no claim on their governments for the armed defense of their missionaries and their property."[1]

Whatever individual missionaries have done, it cannot truly be said that today the missionary movement is an adjunct to imperialism. In the worldwide quest of the common people for a more abundant life, the missionary's identification with the people year by year becomes more complete. With his concern for the common good, with the values which transcend nation, class and race, it is the missionary who most persistently echoes the question of Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Cannot love be, as well as hate? Cannot peace be, as well as war?"

An illustration of the meaning of this in terms of a modern imperialistic venture comes from the attack on Shanghai in 1932, when a considerable part of the Chinese section of the city was destroyed by Japanese guns. While the attack was still going on the National Christian Councils of the two nations were in frequent communication. As a result of this exchange of views, a delegation of four Japanese and four missionaries visited Shanghai and saw with their own eyes what had happened. After a number of conferences with Chinese, they returned to their own country to give a considerably different version of events from that set forth in the propagandized accounts released by the Japanese military authorities. Chinese Christians later returned the visit.

During the attack on Shanghai the Reverend S. T. Chiang, Chinese minister of a church in Hongkew, was kidnapped

[1] See *Ethical Issues Confronting World Christians*, by Daniel J. Fleming, Chapter Seven.

by Japanese soldiers, together with his wife, son, nephew, secretary and two servants. Although almost his last sermon was an appeal to his congregation to forgive the injustices China was suffering and not to hate the Japanese, neither he nor the other six persons were ever seen again. Two years later Kagawa, the world-famous Japanese Christian leader, visited Shanghai. By the unanimous action of the new pastor and the official board of the church at Hongkew, Kagawa was invited to preach there.

One rainy Sunday he stood in the pulpit of the minister who had been murdered. Before him was a packed house of Chinese Christians. The elder who introduced him said, "We are not Japanese or Chinese. We are all one in Christ Jesus." Taking as his text, "He is our peace who hath made both one and hath broken down the middle wall of partition," Kagawa said that he had prayed the Lord to let him stand in this place. "If we did not have Christianity, this would not be possible. Love and the spirit of forgiveness pave the way to peace. Jesus alone can break down the middle wall of partition between Japan and China, only he can make both nations one.

"Militarists throughout the world do not understand the Holy Spirit," he said. "They have the spirit of military aggression, of colonization. But when they invade the territory that belongs to another nation, they are really trespassing against the kingdom of God. In inviting me here, you have manifested the spirit of God. Let us pray that this real Christianity may be established permanently in the Orient."

At the close of the service the Chinese congregation made an offering of a sum equal to $227 as a gift to Kagawa. As the Chinese elder shook Kagawa's hand he said with his face aglow, "It is love, the love of God, that breaks all barriers."[1]

[1] *The Christian Century*, May 11, 1934, p. 609.

IV

DIGGING THE CHANNELS OF UNDERSTANDING

IN 1927 civil war in China reached Nanking. Terrible scenes ensued. The missionaries living there had hair-raising experiences. The homes of many of them were looted and burned, some were wounded, a few were killed. A little group fled with their wives and children into one of the buildings of the University of Nanking.

When the soldiers approached the university buildings, the refugees thought their time had come, and retreated into an upper room. The soldiers soon found where they were, and began shooting into the windows, the bullets shattering the glass and ripping upward into the ceiling. For greater safety the women and children huddled together in the center of the room. The men surrounded them. There were prayers. One or two of the children cried. Then the soldiers were heard yelling as they came up the stairs. In a moment they were on the landing outside the door.

Two men separated themselves from the group and opened the door. Their broad shoulders filled the opening. The soldiers demanded entrance. The missionaries quietly told them why they must remain outside, and with folded arms interposed their unprotected bodies as a living barricade to the room. The foremost soldier raised his rifle, drunkenly tried to aim it, then changed his mind. His companions jeered at him and yelled insulting epithets at the foreigners. Again he raised his rifle, looked along the sights at the white-faced men, and again dropped it without firing. The other soldiers pelted him with ridicule, but he seemed not to hear them.

The third time he got his rifle only half way to his shoulder, then turned and started down the stairs. Amazed, tingling with sudden fear, his companions clattered after him.

Long after the sound of footsteps had died on the stairs the two men stood in the door. . . .

Gandhi has given a name to the non-violent power which these two missionaries successfully invoked in this incident. He calls it soul-force. It is the one social cement which is stronger than militarist nationalism. It is this binding element which Christian missions is using as it carries on its essential part in laying the foundations of the new world civilization that undergirds the world community.

What is Christian civilization? We have seen that missionaries once answered this question by saying, "It is a civilization like that from which we came." But our eyes have been opened. Nothing that produces war and economic depression as regularly as we know them in Western countries can be called a Christian civilization. Even when we carried it abroad and succeeded with rifles and cannons in breaking the resistance of another nation, that which had won was not civilization and certainly not Christianity. But when, as in the case of the two missionaries at Nanking, barbarism is disarmed and conquered by the strength of a superior spirit, civilization wins and Christianity is victorious.

The second stage came when missionaries answered, "We do not know what a Christian civilization is." Some went further and said, "It does not matter. We will simply preach the gospel and let the new converts work out its implications for themselves." But that was impossible also. The new Christians could not live out their lives in a vacuum. Neither could the missionaries. Both had given themselves to the kingdom of God. The gospel of love compelled them to give an answer to the questions, "What would Jesus do?

What kind of family life would he build? What would he do with a farm or a great modern factory? How would he organize a community? What and how would he teach youth? What kind of pattern would he weave for the leisure time of people? How would he eliminate conflicts from the relationships between classes, races and nations?"

The third stage therefore arrived in which missionaries said, "We do not know what a Christian civilization is but we must and will find out." Today very humbly and reverently as a result of experiment and research, men and women in many lands are beginning to say once more, "We know what a Christian civilization must be like. We do not know what it will resemble when it is finished. We suspect that it may never be finished. But we know what stones its foundation contains, we understand what cement must hold them together, we can see the walls beginning to rise."

Many voices are telling us that a civilization to deserve the name of Christian must be worldwide. We know that it cannot be worldwide if it tolerates nationalism and war. Therefore the elimination of war and the creation of a patriotism of humanity—a sense of cosmic citizenship—must come first.

Furthermore, Christian civilization must include all classes of people and provide for them the economic base for abundant living. Modern agricultural, chemical and mechanical sciences have reached the place where it is now possible to produce enough food, clothing and shelter for all. People cannot be expected to remain peaceful while they starve, especially now that they know the means for a more abundant life are available for everybody. The solution of the economic problem is therefore necessary if we are to have peace or justice in the kingdom of God.

In the third place, a Christian civilization concerns itself with the transmission of its heritage to the young. It is

eternally at variance with the effort of nationalism to capture youth and regiment them in the exclusive loyalties demanded by the secular state. Through the best available practices of modern education Christian civilization must convey to the rising generation of the eager-minded the "best that has been thought and said" of all cultures. The new race will advance on the feet of little children—through education.

Moreover, it places the best skill of the scientist at the service of the people's health, considering the science of medicine not a private monopoly for the personal profit of a few who gain most when people become sick, or a device by which the state in war digs wounded men out of shell-holes and patches them up to use them over again, but an opportunity for the protection of the health of all through protective measures.

A Christian civilization will also take as its responsibility the creative organization of the recreational life of the people, especially the young. Recreation must not be the private hunting preserve of commercially minded people who debauch the taste and the morals of youth for the sake of money, but the responsibility of the most socially minded so that it may contribute to the growth, the usefulness and the richness of all life.

It will also carefully conserve the welfare of groups whose care is the special concern of all—mothers, little children, youth, communities or larger regions which have suffered misfortune, the native peoples in colonial territories and areas of foreign exploitation, the families of those whose work for the world community requires extra hazard, the aged whose labors are over, the mental and physical casualties, the sick.

A Christian civilization will also give special consideration to the community life of men in all stages from the im-

mediate geographical environment to the world community, and to the development of those social and political mechanisms and channels which will enable it to function most successfully. The aim of this development will be the formation of a functioning world community as the embodiment of the kingdom of God on earth, and the universal growth of an attitude of loyalty toward it. To do this eventually on a world scale, it must be done many thousands of times on a neighborhood scale.

The Christian enterprise is busy building such complete and well rounded communities all over the world now. They minister to the full life of man. It is impossible to overemphasize their importance. They are the living cells out of which the organism of the Great Society is being formed. They are the microcosm out of which the macrocosm is growing. They are the laboratories in which devoted social scientists with faith illuminated by insight into the purpose of God for humanity are fashioning a science of civilization.

Finally, a Christian civilization will provide for the fullest expression of man's need for religious insight, fellowship and training. In any permanent civilization, religion must be at the heart of all its expressions, not an incidental activity entrusted only to churches and professionals. It will be as all-pervasive as religion always is in the life of primitive peoples, as integral in work and play as in worship.

The author saw one such community in the Philippines at an early stage in its building. A description will show what a basically important contribution the missionary is making to a world peace through the construction of such a world society in miniature.

The waves are always restless where the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean meet at the tip of the largest of the Philippine Islands. The rough lava rock of the Cordillera Central breaks into sharp cliffs where the mountains come down to

the sea, and here, even on a calm day, the waves throw their crests high up the ramparts of the land in a ceaseless warfare between the realm of water and the world of earth. Between the mountains where the short wide rivers have created fertile valleys, wide smooth beaches of sand curve like ten-mile scimitars with their cutting edges toward the land. On them the low thunder of long rollers rumbles a deep undertone to all the community life.

At the heart of one of these valleys, a mile from the sea, is the village. It contains the three essential institutions of human society—homes, a school, a church. Surrounding the village are fields. Running through it is a small stream.

The church is at the center of the life of this community. When a blight attacked the rice, the economic welfare committee of the church brought in an expert from the agricultural college three hundred miles away. It organized a cooperative for irrigation, another for marketing. It introduced the raising of citrous fruit, brought in an improved variety of hand loom, encouraged people to weave their own cloth.

As a result of these efforts, the school expanded its function to include adult education, lending its facilities when the church brought in a teacher who held classes for adults, sending out its own teacher to visit other communities, and introducing a library.

Both church and school used their facilities to improve the health of the people. When the school taught the need for a better diet to overcome beri-beri, the church organized a campaign to get vegetable gardens planted and their products eaten when raised. The leading elder of the church soon had nine varieties of vegetables in his fields. Posters on hookworm, dysentery and other prevalent diseases appeared on the walls of both the church and the school. Classes in infant care were conducted by the church

while the school inculcated higher health standards among the children. Regular visits of a doctor were arranged.

An enterprising business man in the neighborhood had secured some athletic equipment and was renting this out, charging a fee and collecting a percentage on the bets which he encouraged on all contests. The officers of the church remonstrated with him for fostering gambling, and when he refused to change his methods, offered to buy his equipment. When he declined to sell his profitable enterprise, they bought some equipment of their own, and soon, in spite of his angry demands that the church should stick to the preaching of the gospel, succeeded in putting him out of business by offering the use of their own equipment free to teams which played without gambling. Although they incurred his enmity, they put a stop to the demoralization of their youth. They continued to maintain socialized recreation facilities and gave their youth training not only in athletic skills but in taking responsibility for their own community recreational life.

So in these and other major realms of man's activity, religion became the dynamic in that community. It is no wonder that Sundays in this neighborhood constitute a great community day, since all the week long the church is the center of a life that is vitally related at every point to its people. The relationship of such a religion to world peace is obvious when we hear that the rising standard of living of the people under its influence was retarding emigration to Hawaii which had been going on from this community for a long time, decreasing the crime rate, and bringing about a more wholesome interest in people of other lands whom they came to know through the church. Needless to say, the missionaries who have had a share in the nurture of this living social embodiment of the world

community did not need to argue that they were not working in the interest of a foreign imperialism.

The soul-force exhibited by the Nanking missionaries is also at work in many other fields for the creation of understanding and good will. From the very beginning missionaries have been the principal interpreters of the ways and wishes of the East to the peoples of the West. For three generations after trade opened between America and China, missionaries were intermediaries for both business and diplomacy. Although trade opened in the very next year after the United States won its independence, and although the large and graceful American clipper ships carried a constantly expanding trade up till the time of the Civil War, business men depended on the missionary's intimate knowledge of the language and customs for conducting all relationships that involved more than routine communication.

Dependence was also placed upon missionaries in the early and formative years of diplomacy. William B. Reed, the United States minister to China in 1858, wrote to the State Department describing the successful culmination of his efforts to negotiate a treaty with China. He said, "I cannot allow this occasion to pass without an incidental tribute to the missionary cause as I observe it promoted by my own countrymen in China. I consider the missionary element in China a great conservative and protecting principle. The studies of the missionary and those connected with the missionary cause are essential to the interests of our country. Without them as interpreters, the public business could not have been translated. I could not but for their aid have advanced one step in the discharge of my duties here, or read or written or understood one word of correspondence or treaty stipulations. With them there has been no difficulty or embarrassment. There is not an American merchant in China who can read or write a single sentence of Chinese."

Caleb Cushing, who was minister when the first treaty was signed between the United States and China in 1844, wrote, "In the late negotiations the most important, not to say indispensable, service was derived from American missionaries. They possessed the rare qualifications of understanding the Chinese language which enabled them to act as interpreters to the legation; their intimate knowledge of China and the Chinese made them invaluable as advisers, and their high character contributed to give weight and moral strength to the mission." He then concluded with an aside which is uncommon in state papers, "The great bulk of information we possess in regard to China, and nearly all of the primary philological information concerning the two great languages of the Chinese empire, are derived from missionaries. There is not a nobler or more deeply interesting chapter than this in the history of human courage, intellect, self-sacrifice, greatness and virtue."

This was strong praise, but it was literally deserved. Dr. Tyler Dennett says, "During the greater part of the nineteenth century Americans looked upon Asia through the eyes of missionaries. The books written by missionaries were practically the only source of any adequacy or accuracy for the formation of public opinion about China, Japan and Korea."[1] Dr. Dennett, now president of Williams College, also is authority for the statement that several of the articles of the first treaty between the United States and China appear to have grown directly from discussions which had been held in the pages of missionary journals.

In addition to this indirect help, missionaries have many times become officials and have directly represented our country in important government posts. Dr. Peter Parker, first medical missionary to China, who once addressed a

[1] From *Americans in Eastern Asia*, p. 552. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

special meeting of both houses of the American Congress on the subject of China, married a niece of Daniel Webster, and became minister to China in a most difficult period. Unfortunately his administration did not contribute to peace but rather had the opposite effect. He tried to persuade the United States to go in on the side of England in the Second Opium War, and before he had received a reply from America seized time by the forelock and took possession of Formosa. After a United States fleet had bombarded some Chinese forts near Tientsin, Parker was ordered by the State Department to restrain his ardor for conflict with the specific reminder that "the executive branch of the government is not the war-making power."

It is interesting to discover on the other side of the ledger that America's return of the Boxer Indemnity surplus to China, which was used to help Chinese education and is often cited as one of the happiest incidents in the whole history of international friendship, had its inspiration from a missionary. The assessment of punitive indemnities against China has a history which goes back, unfortunately, to the middle of the last century. At that time S. Wells Williams, a missionary who had become secretary of the American legation in Peking, suggested that a surplus of some $250,000 in the indemnity fund be returned to China. The idea was approved by President Lincoln and mentioned in one of his annual messages to Congress. This resulted in a precedent which was successful in 1900 when a later Congress with twelve millions of dollars to dispose of made its historic decision to found a college in Peking and to use the remainder of the fund to bring Chinese students to America.

V

CHAOS OR CHRIST: HUMANITY'S ALTERNATIVE

THE missionary outreach of Christianity is religion at work laying the indispensable spiritual foundation for the world community. Ultimately this world community cannot be defeated. Its home is deep in the inner nature of man. It is integral to the very structure of modern society. Growing economic interdependence makes it essential to survival. Further, and still more important, it has its ultimate sanction in the heart of Reality itself. Its foundation is established in the nature of God the universal Father of all mankind, as we have seen him manifested in Jesus.

While it is impossible to believe that in the long view this world community will not prevail, in the short perspective of lifetimes or even of centuries it may experience many reversals. Modern war, which involves whole nations, is unimaginably destructive and can within a short time set back the processes of brotherhood hundreds of years. The World War consumed $123,000,000 a day of the wealth which the burdened toil of the race had produced, and by 1918 was burning up $10,000,000 an hour. The incredible figure of $337,000,000,000 is the amount the economists set down when they want to show how much the war cost, but even this does not "take into account the additional economic loss caused by the wholesale crippling and devitalization of soldiers and civilians, the billions of dollars of interest due on the debts contracted by the fighting powers, or

the vast sums which will continue to be appropriated for generations to come as pension money."[1]

Of course all this is insignificant beside the loss of life. In the 1,565 days of the World War, 65,000,000 men were mobilized and forced to participate. Of these, 9,000,000 were killed or died from wounds, and 22,000,000 were wounded, one-third so badly as to be permanently disabled. Missing men numbered another 5,000,000. "More than twice as many men were killed in battle during the World War as in all the major wars from 1790 to 1913 together." It is said that already within the first seven months of the Spanish civil war, still raging as this is written, 500,000 people have lost their lives. In the World War civilian deaths outnumbered deaths of soldiers. In future wars the proportion of such casualties is likely to increase.

You cannot build a world community on chaos like this. The heritage of revolution and disintegration, of hatred and decadence, which war leaves behind creates more war. This is especially true because the nature of war has changed. Once it was fought by armies; now it involves whole populations. Mussolini has decreed that all the men of Italy must instantly be available for military service at any time between their eighteenth and their fifty-fifth years. The American general, Douglas A. MacArthur, had previously set up a similar plan in the Philippines, where in the new commonwealth, to remain under our flag until 1946, conscripted armies will also be in training. It should give religious people food for long and humble thought that the two Oriental countries where the influence of "Christian" civilization is most marked, Japan and the Philippines, now both have regimented their populations within the despotic strait-jacket of universal peacetime military conscription.

[1] From W. C. Langsam, *The World Since 1914*, p. 87. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

Because of this change in the nature of modern war, the first element in its strategy is now the attack on civilian populations. Each of the half dozen nations which today menace the world's peace, including the United States, has thousands of airplanes. The function of airplanes in modern war is chiefly to attack non-combatants. With poison gas, which is also not a defensive weapon, airplanes can overleap any defense of land or water and strike the nerve centers of civilization—the great cities. Part of the peacetime work of war departments is to perfect plans of attack on all possible enemies. Presumably one of these concerns Japan. What will it mean to the missionary enterprise and to the world community if such a plan is ever put into effect by the United States? A flying armada will appear in the sky above Tokyo. Incendiary bombs laden with thermite which will even melt steel will rain down upon wood and paper houses and churches. While the frantic people are stumbling through the smoke vainly fighting a hundred unquenchable fires, deadly gas will begin to take its toll of millions. Thousands of these will be Christians. One of them might be Toyohiko Kagawa, one of the greatest spiritual leaders of this generation.

Dreadful as the effect on Japan would be, the cost of committing such an atrocity would fall heaviest on the United States. We should lose those essentials of integrity and liberty which alone make life worth living here or anywhere else. Before we could become capable of such a ghastly crime, our minds would have to soak for months in the poisonous half-truths of propaganda. Our hearts would have to nurse into flaming hatred the prejudice kept alight through the years by the yellow press. Every dissenting voice would have to be suppressed by the ruthless military dictatorship which we should be told could alone insure our "winning" the war. Civil and constitutional rights

would be forgotten. The freedom of the press would disappear. In the universities professors who did not degrade their high devotion to the truth to the importunate demands of the official propaganda machine would be expelled from their positions. If they went further, as some of them would be sure to do, and told the truth about war, they would be hounded to prison. There they would be joined by ministers and other Christians who would still say, as John Haynes Holmes did in his New York pulpit on the Sunday following our entrance into the World War, "No man is wise enough, no nation is important enough, no human interest is precious enough, to justify the wholesale destruction and murder which constitute war."

Great as the stake of civilization and democracy is in the continued maintenance of peace, the stake of Christianity is greater. The entire claim of the religion of love upon the loyalty and affections of mankind is involved. If this Western civilization which has grown out of Christianity goes down in war, what we have known as Christianity goes down with it. But, while it is conceivable that humanity may once again reconstruct the ordered life of civilization, it is not thinkable that it will return to a Christianity which by its inability to rouse great numbers of its followers against this ancient curse has proved itself so tragically mistaken in its basic assumption about life. If the gospel of love cannot nerve its own followers to give their lives for it rather than to consent to further participation in the vast atrocity of war, then the survivors will have to organize their lives around some other conception.

It is not enough to say that Christianity could save the world if it were only tried, that while men have professed it for twenty centuries, it has not yet been believed with sufficient realism to make a difference in political relationships. The answer which has to be made is simply this: Any

religion that cannot demonstrate its worth in a period of time as long as that is too other-worldly to be of much value to plain men. Unless the religion which claims a God who is love, which teaches men that they are all brothers, can demonstrate that it has enough influence on the people who profess to be guided by it so that they turn their backs on organized, systematic hatred, it is certainly doomed. The proficiency of the Christian nations in the dreadful art of mass murder spells the end of Christianity as a living and vital religion, at home as well as on the mission field, unless there is widespread repentance and a revolt of the Christian conscience the next time we are tempted to lapse into one of those periodic reversions to barbarism called war. "Every sensible man must know," Tolstoy once wrote to Gandhi, "that the use of force is incompatible with love as the fundamental law of life; that as soon as violence is permitted, . . . the insufficiency of the law of love is acknowledged, and by this the very law of love is denied."[1]

The issue which Christians must face today is not how civilization can be saved from war. It may be that it is already too late to do that on a wide scale. What we can do is to preserve in every land where the name of Christ has gone groups of people who practise love and cooperation. Through the method of the cross such groups can survive even the holocaust of war and provide the basis for the new society. For we cannot be blind to the fact that once more the so-called great nations are madly getting ready for another attack of this dreadful social insanity.

Today world politics, like a car only partially in control, is skidding along a crazy course on the rim of an abyss. A half dozen times in recent months world peace has been gravely threatened. The frail treaty structures on which

[1] From C. F. Andrews, *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas*, p. 196. By permission of The Macmillan Co., publishers.

good will depends have one by one collapsed, and today a world which never more than half dared to trust the possibilities of pacific settlement of controversies believes in peace less than ever before. So it turns wearily to the old ways and fatalistically puts its trust once more in wholesale violence. The figures for the armament programs of the principal powers as they stood early in 1937 tell the story when they are contrasted with those for 1914.

EXPENDITURES FOR ARMAMENTS[1]

	1914	1936
Germany	$470,000,000	$2,600,000,000
Russia	450,000,000	2,963,100,000
Great Britain	380,000,000	846,900,000[2]
United States	250,000,000	964,900,000[3]
France	350,000,000	716,400,000
Italy	180,000,000	870,800,000
Japan	95,000,000	307,200,000
Total	$2,175,000,000	$9,269,300,000

[1] All figures for 1914 are taken from the London *Daily Herald*, as quoted in *The Living Age* for January, 1937. Figures for 1936 are quoted from "The Rising Tide of Armament," Foreign Policy Report, Vol. XII, No. 23, issued by the Foreign Policy Association, February 15, 1937.

[2] Increased to $1,192,130,000 in 1937. Does not include defense budgets of dominions.

[3] Exclusive of money taken from relief funds for military construction.

This is the real situation today when all hindrances have been lifted from the race for naval armaments. The collapse of the treaty structure erected to maintain the peace of the Pacific, the center of missionary activity for a century is of special importance. On the western shores of this widest of oceans East meets West, and there the question is to be decided whether Christian missions can actually prevent this meeting from becoming a blind collision of mutually destructive forces. The partial and, we hope,

temporary disappearance of the League of Nations as a positive and constructive force for peace adds to the seriousness of the naval and armaments race. Christian men and women can get little comfort from reflections upon how this disappearance has been brought about. Two ideas were essential to the success of the League from the start: it must be universal and it must consist of disarmed nations. The United States destroyed its universality very early by refusing to enter. Other nations destroyed the hope of disarmament when they broke their pledged word and refused to disarm. It ill becomes those who have been responsible for these betrayals to berate the League now for failing to bring peace.

Whatever might have been, we are compelled by the swift march of events to concentrate on the days ahead. There we see unmistakable evidence that for Christians the challenge of war has become the most pressing and important issue of our time. The accelerated tempo of history will not permit us to evade it. However long it may take, our generation of Christians must bear their witness to the reality of brotherhood and the meaning of the world community by becoming the first to challenge war on a large scale in the name of Christ.

In the providence of God, certain questions come to the fore at certain times in history. Whether it is the waste of life in the gladiatorial games, or the freedom of man to follow the dictates of his conscience in his choice of modes of worship, or human slavery—the principle is the same. At a certain time God brings the focus of historic processes to bear and then that question must be solved in the light of the ethical demands of the gospel. Today the finger of God has moved on from these questions and now points to war. On war, our generation must give the answer that will go down in history. For our generation and possibly for several

generations to come, nothing can be so important as that we clearly witness, in word and deed, concerning the will of God for peace on earth.

The first responsibility of a Christian for world peace is to make up his own mind as to what he is going to do about the obvious and irreconcilable opposition between Christ and carnage. The challenge has been thrown down. Either Christ or Mars must yield. Humanity once came to the parting of the ways on slavery when it saw how incompatible were Christian brotherhood and the buying and selling of human beings. When that hour came either slavery or Christianity had to be abandoned. Multitudes have now reached the same clarity of thought about war. We shall have to give up one or the other. In this issue all the ethical conscience of our time has come to a focus and the historic hour has struck when the Christian world must make the fateful choice.

Since under modern universal conscription every person is affected, each individual must make this decision for himself. It is a decision which may prove very costly. Nobody should forswear war who is not ready to be shot rather than go back on his decision. And yet all the evidence points to unqualified and irreconcilable opposition to war as the logical next step for Christians who are really in earnest about building a world community. Bertrand Russell, the English philosopher, recently came to this conclusion after examining the possible courses to peace. He said:

> The duty of every friend of mankind, of every man who cares for any aspect of civilized life, of every patriot, and of every parent who desires the survival of his children is simple and clear: *To abstain from fighting, and from voluntary participation in war between civilized states; to use every effort to persuade others to do likewise; to bring all possible influence to bear to prevent the participation of his country*

in war; and, within the limits of his capacity, to aim at similar results in other countries also.[1]

If this man who does not even profess to follow Christ can come to such a conclusion on the basis of the evidence contained in the world situation, should it not be even more imperative to Christians who find the final sanction for their views in the gospel of love?

For the author of these lines, complete and irrevocable refusal to sanction, support or participate in war, international or civil, is inescapably involved in being a Christian. But he does not attempt to judge others who conscientiously hold a different point of view. God and history will judge us all. Our concern must be to measure the cost in terms of our own day's deepest need of an absolute commitment to the God of love and to his growing world community and then to pay that cost no matter how great, in simple faith that love is eternal and cannot be defeated, even by death.

Out of the Christian's deep commitment a very practical and effective program of building for peace logically grows. Instead of a passivity which placidly folds its arms and fatalistically awaits a slow doom, Christian love is an activity which becomes a center of creative development of good will in conflict areas. That is why it has such power. Deep in the subconscious as well as in the conscious life of sensitive modern man there is a wild revolt against the bestial business of war. His spirit is in insurrection against the barbaric butchery which totalitarian states compel his hands to do. Tell him that there is a way out and his mind, driven to the verge of insanity by the conflict between increasing sensitivity and growing savagery, surges forward in powerful and effective release. Here is the power which will shatter the outworn social habit of mass violence, even

[1] From *Which Way to Peace?* London, Michael Joseph, 1936.

though it is encrusted with centuries of bloody tradition and hallowed by all the sanctions of apostate religion.

This is the reason why the American peace movement, in its ambitious attempt to organize six thousand communities of the United States against war, gets such devoted voluntary service from thousands of citizens. In this work, which is the strategic next step in the organization of the will to peace, many are for the first time discovering what it means to lose friends, popularity and profits through loyalty to a cause. They are also finding that such devotion brings its own reward in the inner life and in the knowledge that however slow may be the process, they are laying deep below the surface of this day's superficialities the spiritual foundation for a peaceful world community.

Out of this attitude, work for the education of children in world brotherhood naturally becomes a great concern. Nationalism in all lands is hard at work in the schools poisoning the minds of youth with its subtle virus. But throughout America men and women of sensitive souls are opening the honest eyes of children to the beauties of brotherhood across boundary lines. Each year the church is developing more skill and using more time and money in this task. When the church ceases to be missionary it dies, and its very continuance therefore is bound up with the patient service freely given by world-minded Christians to the missionary education of childhood and youth. Today's insistent demand for peace arises from yesterday's devoted labor, through all the departments of church life, in opening the minds of the young to the call of the worldwide kingdom. Tomorrow's world, which, please God, will be a world that has really outlawed war, will owe its very existence to unnamed thousands of teachers and parents who have, at the behest of the dream of brotherhood, quietly and persistently revealed the better way to tomorrow's citizens.

But the man or woman who works for a new world on grounds of Christian conviction will not stop with education. Knowing that a nation has only two ways of making moral decisions, through politics or through war, he resolutely knocks on the doors of the political system and demands that it too become an instrument for peace. In combination with others, as a member or organizer of a peace group, small or large, in his church or community, he will work to bring those who are in positions of political power to the realization that they must use their vote for peace.

Specifically, he will recognize the need for a peace program which permits people of many points of view to collaborate toward the common goal, and he will work for such parts of this total program as seem to him most important and which offer him the best opportunity. Such a program must be at least broad enough to include the following objectives:

Intelligent and generous support of every effort of Christian missions or other agencies of the world community to demonstrate brotherhood across national boundary lines.

Practical recognition of the equality of nations, so that Germany will not continue to feel that she is an outlaw, and Japan will not go on with the stamp of racial inferiority. This means repudiation of the Versailles Treaty, repeal of the immigration act excluding Japanese, the neutralization of the Philippines.

Lowering of economic barriers through equitable trade agreements so that the handicapped powers may ease internal tensions; and work to eliminate the war-breeding elements from the economic system and to substitute for them the peace-developing sanctions of a cooperative commonwealth.

Strengthening of the instruments of pacific settlement of

international controversies, such as the Inter-American Conference of 1936, the League of Nations when the articles providing for the use of armed sanctions are eliminated, the Pact of Paris in which all nations have formally outlawed war as an instrument of national policy.

Continued work for a comprehensive program of neutrality which will keep the United States from being drawn into war anywhere, and active promotion of the measures which will make this program enforceable in the terrific stresses and temptations that will come if the world once more plunges into a general war.

Open and friendly assistance to such "have-not" nations as China, Italy, India, Japan and Germany.

Self-determination for all colonial peoples at such time and to the degree they desire it.

Building of a powerful, resolute, well organized and adequately financed peace movement in American churches, colleges, women's groups, farm organizations, labor unions and business organizations.

As a part of that movement, enrolling of the largest possible number of people who refuse on grounds of conscience to sanction or support war and who therefore constitute an additional deterrent to war and an influence against it.

Immediate reduction of armaments looking toward total disarmament at the earliest possible moment, with our own nation offering an example and leading the way.

Active efforts through education to counteract the exclusive passions of nationalism with the inclusive humanity of internationalism.

Finally, we have the obligation to carry into the struggle for peace in a war-torn and despairing world the unquenchable spirit of courage which we get from Him whose command we obey without question and without reservation, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to

them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust."

War is an irrational social habit. It is a sinful hangover from the days of barbarism. If it were not graven deep in the thought patterns of people by tradition, only a madman would dream of suggesting war as a method of settling disputes between modern nations. After every such insane departure from rationality, men must come back when all the killing and destruction are completed and sit down around a table and settle the quarrel there. History shows that all the hatred and suffering might better have never occurred, for post-war settlements are never so just, never so lasting as those which are arrived at through the process of peaceful arbitration. After ten millions of men had died in Europe between 1914 and 1918, the mentality of peoples had been brought to such a state that the best they could do when at long last they faced each other across the conference table was the Treaty of Versailles. Who will be able to do even as well with the greater chaos which will follow if another war is permitted to happen?

Humanity stands at the parting of the ways. In the middle of one road stands the universal Christ, the first patriot of humanity. His road leads to peace within a world community of brothers. In the middle of the other road stands black Chaos flinging the gay trappings and the heady music of nationalism to the breeze. His road is the way to war and to the suicide of civilization. For world-minded Christians the choice between the two ought to be perfectly clear, and the cost of the choice, the cross, be paid with singleness of mind and gladness of heart.

APPENDIX

FOR LEADERS OF GROUPS USING THIS PAMPHLET AS THE BASIS OF STUDY AND DISCUSSION

The following questions are intended as keys to unlock discussion on these chapters. They are purposely designed to bring out differences of opinion and to prevent people from accepting too uncritically the point of view of the author. The discussion leader should feel perfectly free to add to or subtract from these questions as he sees fit.

I: The First World Community

1. On page 10 note the following statement: "Our one hope is that enough men shall be awakened in time to the revolutionary personal and social consequences of living in a world community to put a stop to war. That awakening can come only through . . . religion."

Does the group agree with both these assertions? Why or why not?

Why do the communists say "no" to the second one?

Are the religious people you know exceptionally awake to "the personal and social consequences of living in a world community"?

2. On page 11 the author refers to "the conviction that the whole power of God is working against a society which has so hopelessly tangled human relations" and says that "God . . . still sits at the loom of destiny, irresistibly weaving the intermingled threads of our human lives into the living and beautiful fabric of a unified world community."

Do you believe this? On what evidence?

If you do, in what degrees does it lead you to

action?	anxiety?	dread?
resignation?	confidence?	hope?

3. What will happen if physically we become more interdependent and spiritually more divergent?

4. What is the relationship between the world community and the kingdom of God?

5. While the more remote ideal of "a new kind of person" is being reached, what can *you* do *now* to act as a citizen of the world?

II: Christianity and Nationalism: Rival Religions

1. What is the difference between nationalism and patriotism?

2. Analyze the statement on page 20: "The emotional outlet provided by the loyalties of nationalism diverts the legitimate emotional expressions of religion from the historic channels of Christian fellowship."

Describe just what this "drainage" of loyalties may mean in a typical community. What happens? What do people do? How does it affect church programs?

3. Suppose yourself a missionary in China. A Chinese student says to you, "Your great imperialistic nations have got all they want. Now they send you to preach gentleness and patience to us so that we may *not* get what we want." What will *you* say next?

4. Have missionaries already created anything that can be called a world community? Of whom does it consist? Will it probably withstand the nationalisms that are trying to tear it apart?

For example, if war is imminent between (say) Japan and America, what *can* Christians of the two countries do to prevent it? Will they be likely to do *anything*, or will their national loyalties probably be too strong for their Christian fellowship?

Whatever they do, will it probably be effectual, or will the political powers ride over them?

5. Warfare promises to give the frustrations of everyday life a release, and only gets support because it holds this promise. What are these frustrations? What can we do to free lives from these stoppages which prevent abundance of living and make even warfare attractive?

III: Are Missions Cultural Imperialism?

1. Do you agree that "Christian internationale" and "world community" and "kingdom of God" are interchangeable terms?

2. If you had been a member of the missionary group in China in 1923 (see page 34), would you have stood with the twenty-four in signing the request for no protection?

Don't answer without thinking out clearly the consequences of your request upon yourself, your family, and upon international relations.

3. Let the group think together very critically about the attack on Shanghai (page 36). Ask such questions as these:

Did love "work" in this case or not?

Do you think it was on the whole useless, neutral, or effectual?

If you think it was *in*effectual, outline a plan of action for Chinese and Japanese Christians which would have been effectual.

4. What do you conceive to be the missionary's function in experiments with cooperatives, for example, and other forms of economic organization that he believes will help the people among whom he lives become economically independent?

IV: Digging the Channels of Understanding

1. Does soul-force "work"? That is, does it win the cause for those who use it? Does it remain non-violent? Can it be used by any group or does it require a special background or training? Apply these questions to the following cases:

Mr. Gandhi's movement

The Nanking incident described in this chapter (page 38)

The American sit-down strikes

2. Let the group try to understand and to evaluate very critically the blue-print for a Christian civilization on pages 40-42. Ask such questions as these:

Are all these traits necessary to make a civilization Christian?

Are these enough to make a civilization Christian?

When you try to extend them from a small community like the one described on pages 42-45, what obstacles are introduced? Do these make the blue-print seem impracticable to you or still attainable within a reasonable time?

3. What progress are you making toward the creation in your own community of a just and peaceable world society in miniature?

4. Is the church when it proceeds along the lines of this chapter bringing abundant life or is it going out of its field?

V: Chaos or Christ: Humanity's Alternative

1. Do you believe the assertions about the world community in the first paragraph of this chapter? Why or why not? What difference will it make in your actions if you do or do not believe these assertions?

2. Do you agree that what we have known as Christianity will be destroyed unless Christians succeed in abolishing war?

3. Practically how should Christians go about abolishing war?

What are the causes of war? How could they be removed? What would it cost society to remove them? Are most people you know willing to pay that cost? What would (or might) it cost you personally? Are you willing to pay that cost?

4. Criticize very fully the peace program on pages 58-60. What is *your* place in this program?

5. What share can Christian missions as such have in the abolition of war?

Just what can they do, as distinct from Christians in America, governments, the League? How long will their contribution take to be effective? How durable will their contribution probably be against any particular war when it breaks out?

6. Suppose you are a Christian missionary in (*a*) Japan; (*b*) China; (*c*) East Africa; (*d*) India.

What kind of war, and one from what source, is most likely to involve the Christians of your field? What will you now say and do among those Christians which will best prepare them to meet *their* war in the Christian way?